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INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-08 EA-11 EUR-14 NEA-69 RSC-01 ACDA-19

GAC-01 E-11 ORM-03 SR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06

INR-26 L-53 NSAE-86 VSC-10 P-03 PRS-AI SS-14 USIA-12

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R 041709Z DEC 71 FM USMISSION USUN NY TO SECSTATE WAHSDC 9444 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON AMERRASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY OTTAWA AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY TAIPEL AMEMBASSY TOKYO AMEMBASSY NATO AMCONSUL HONG KONG USDEL SALT VI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4797

SUBJ: PRC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

1. SUMMARY: REVIEW OF PRC DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES THROUGH DECEMBER 3 IN NEW YORK SHOWS CHINESE HAVE APPROACHED ISSUES CONSERVATIVELY, GENERALLY MAINTAINING OPTIONS WHILE CONTINUING TO SHOPE UP IDENTITY WITH THIRD

WCRLD. ALTHOUGH ENERGETICALLY SFEKING EDUCATE SELVES AND GIVING I-PRESSION OF ACTIVITY, CHINESE FOR MOST PART HAVE AVOIDED BOTH COMMITTEES AND COMMITMENTS. DURING FIRST THREE WEEKS OF PRESENCE, HOWEVER, IN AT LEAST TWO INSTANCES THEY HAVE FELT REACTION OF OTHERS TO THEIR INTERVENTIONS IN UN: MODIFYING PROCESS OF GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS REGUN. IN REMAINING THREE WEEKS OF RETH UNGA. CHINESE ARE FACED WITH NEED TO TAKE POSITIONS ON VARIETY OF ISSUES WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE USEFUL CLUES TO LONG-TERM

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IMPACT OF THEIR PRESENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE FULL PRO DELEGATION ARRIVED NOVEMBER II, CHINESE HAVE MADE THIRTEEN PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN UN BODIES, PLUS MAKING AIRPORT ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND CIRCULATING TEXT OF EARLIER STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT. PRO STATEMENTS (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED SEPTELS - NOTAL) HAVE PEEN PUT ON RECORD HERE ON FOLLOWING OCCASIONS:

(A) NOVEMBER II: CHIAD KUAN-HUA ARRIVAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO FIVE PRINCIPLES AND TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES OF CHINA AND US.

(81 MOVEMBER 151 INAUBURAL PLEMARY ADDRESS, A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT WHICH, MOWEVER, DID PULL PUNCHES ON ISSUES INVOLVING JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES.

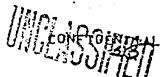
(C) MOVEMBER 16: BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WELCOME IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INCLUDED MODEST ALLUSION TO CHINESE UNFAMILIARITY WITH UN PROCEDURES, A THEME REPEATED IN MEETINGS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AND WITH PRESS.

(0) NOVEMBER 16: EXPLANATION OF FAVORABLE PLENARY VOTE ON RHODESIAN CHROME RESOLUTION, WHICH CRITICISED THE UNITED STATES LEGISLATIVE MOVES. PRO EXPLICITLY RESERVED POSITION ON OTHER RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO IN RESOLUTION VOTED UPON.

(E) NOVEMBER 16: RESPONSE TO WELCOME IN FIRST COMMITTEE, AGAIN STATING CHINESE NEED TO LEARN ABOUT WORKINGS OF UNITED NATIONS.

(F) NOVEMBER 19: INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF NEW ZEALAND-DUTCH RESOLUTION ON PAKISTAN REFUGEES. IN ADDITION TO BLAMING EAST PAKISTAN PROBLEM WHOLLY ON INDIA (WITHOUT MENTIONING INDIA BY NAME), ALSO PESUFRECTED GUESTION OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR REBELLION AND SUBVERSION IN TIBET, RELATING TIBET REFUGEES TO EAST PAKISTANI REFUGEES.

(G) NOVEMBER 19: DISPUTE WITH SAUDI ARABIA
REPPESENTATIVE BAROODY DURING FIRST COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT
DEBATE. PPC DELEGATE AN CHIH-YUAN, WHILE HIS SENIOR CH'EN
CH'U TEMPORABILY ABSENT, MADE MISTAKE (WHICH MORE SEASONED
DELEGATES WOULD HAVE AVOIDED) OF TANGLING WITH BAROODY IN
REPLY TO SAUDI ARABIAN CRITICISM OF PRC NUCLEAR TEST.
EXCHANGE CONCLUDED ONLY WHEN CH'EM TOOK OVER FROM AN TO
SOFTEN AN'S EARLIER DENOUNCEMENT OF BAROODY'S CRITICISM.





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(H) MOVEMBER 22: STATEMENT DURING SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS COMMITTEE'S DISCUSSION OF UNITED STATES LEGIS-LATION ON RHODESIAN CHROME. PRC COMMENTS, WHILE CRITICAL OF US BECAUSE OF APPARENT CONTRADICTION ON CHROME, WERE MILD, AND ERISCIPAL FUNCTION SERMED TO BE TO RECORD PRC ON ANTI-COLOMIA: SIDE.

(I) MOVEMBER 23: INAUGURAL STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL. FNDORSED SECURITY COUNCIL'S CHAPTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND DEPOSING AGGRESSION: DID NOT MENTION ROLE AS PERMANENT MENTER. IDENTIFYING PROWITH SMALLER AND AGGRIEVED COUNTRIES.

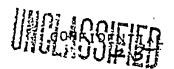
CHANNELS, JULY 38TH RESPONSE TO USSR JUNE 15 PROPOSAL TO CONVENE FIVE-POWER NUCLEAR CONFERENCE.

(K) NOVEMBER 24: PLEMARY STATEMENT CPPOSING SOVIET PROPERSAL FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT COMFERENCE: REITERATED PRO POSITIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA, RALESTINIAN AND COLONIAL DUESTIONS, IN ADDITION TO ADDRESSING DISARMAMENT ISSUES: CHIAG CONCLUDED STATEMENT WITH PROPOSAL THAT SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION ON MOC NOT BE BUT TO VOTE AT THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

(1) MOVEMBER 26: PLEMARY STATEMENT, EXERCISING RIGHT OF PEPLY TO MALIK'S RESPONSE TO CHIAO'S NOVEMBER 24TH STATEMENT ON MDC. IN THIS INSTANCE, CHIAO ATTACKED SOVIETS IN HIGHLY DRAMATIC AND PERSONALIZED MANNER AND INSERTED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS FOR ROLE IN INDIA. CHIAO ADVANCED PRO'S ANTI-MDC POSITION ONE STEP BY STATING CATEGORICALLY THAT PRO WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY VOTE ON SOVIET RESOLUTION AND WOULD ASSUME NO OBLIGATION AS RESULT OF VOTE.

(M) NOVEMBER 37: BRIEF STATEMENT IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEBATE ON UNRWA. BLAMED PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ON ISPAEL AND UNITED STATES IN LANGUAGE DRAWN HEAVILY FROM NOVEMBER 15TH INAUGUPAL STATEMENT.

(N) NOVEMBER 37: STATEMENT ON GUINEA IN SECURITY COUNCIL, OFFERING PRO-FORMA TOTAL SUPPORT FOR GUINEA AND CRITICISM OF IMPERIALISTS' EFFORTS TO STIFLE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.





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SUBJETPPC IN SETH GAT THREE MEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

2. CHINFSE ON AT LEAST TWO OF ADOVE-LISTED OCCASIONS HAVE TAVEN ACTIONS THAT THEY MAY WISH IN RETROSPECT THEY HAD NOT. DELEGATIONS! KNEE-JERK REACTION MILD BARDODY CRITICISM IN FIRST COMMITTEE MOVEMBER 19 WOULD JUSTIFY MINOR REGRET. BARDODY FIGURED ALSO IN THE MORE SERIOUS INSTANCE. CHINESE CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE BEEN SENGITIVE TO FACT THAT RAPPODY, FOLLOWING MOVEMBER 26 COMPLETION OF VITRIOLIC MALIK-CHIAD: EXCHANGE, RECEIVED NOT LEUALLY ACCORDED APPLAUSE FOR HIS CHASTISEMENT OF BOTH DELGATES FOR ABUSING ON FORUM FOR BIG-POWER AND IDECLOGICAL ENDS. PRO WILLINGNESS TO SUBJECT THE GA TO THIS TYPE OF ATTACK, DIVERTING A DISABMAMENT PLENARY TO MARROW GREAT-POWER CONFLICT, APPARENTLY HAS HAD STRONG IMPACT ON SMALLER DELGATIONS. DURING SUBSEQUENT DISABMAMENT D

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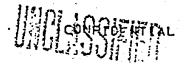
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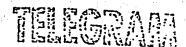
ARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS IN CORRUPTIONS AND THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS, WE HAVE HAD INDISPUTABLE SIGNS THAT DELEGATIONS, AS DIRECT RESULT OF NOVEMBER 26 SPECTACLE, ARE HAVING SOME SECOND AND SOBER THOUGHTS ABOUT PENALITIES UN MAY HAVE TO HAY FOR PRO PRESENCE. (IMPLICATIONS FOR AN OF SINCHOUSIES ARE SUBJECT OF SEPTEL.) IN ADDITION THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS PRO NAY HOESPITE

NOVEMBER 26 PROMISE TO CONTRARY, END UP PARTICIPATING IN ACTION ON SOVIET OR SUBSTITUTE SMALL-FOWER MOC PROPOSAL. THIS IS EXAMPLE OF UN PRESSURES REQUIRING PROPOSAL.

3. DESPITE FREQUENT CHINESE PROTESTATIONS - SOIH IN FORMAL STATEMENTS AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESS AND NITH OTHER DELEGATIONS - THAT THEY APE IN PERIOD OF LEARNING, PRODELEGATION HAS LEFT UN WITH NO ODUST THAT THE NEW BOYS HAVE ARRIVED AND PLAN TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT. THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN FORTIFIED BY COMPREHENSIVE INAUGURAL STATEMENT, PEGULAR APPEARANCES IN PLENARY AND SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, DRAMATIC INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE AND WOO EXCHANGE WITH SOVIETS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN COMMINED WITH VISIBILITY IN CORPIDORS, CALLS ON OTHER DELEGATIONS, ACCESSIBILITY TO PRESS AND TENTATIVE FIRST SOCIAL APPEARANCES.

4. VEVERTHELESS, CHINESE HAVE STILL NOT PARTICIPATED IN WORN OF SECOND (ECOSOC), FOURTH (TRUSTESHIP), FIFTH (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY) OR SIXTH (LEGAL) COMMITTES, NOR HAVE CHINESE DELEGATES OR STAFE APPEARED IN THESE COMMITTEE ROOMS AS OBSERVERS (ALTHOUGH AT LEGAT IN CASE OF FIFTH COMMITTEE, CHINESE HAVE APPARENTLY REFN CONSULTING INFORMALLY WITH OTHER MEMBER-DELEGATES). OF THREE MEETINGS OF GANCTIONS COMMITTEE OF SECURITY COUNCIL THEY HAVE ONLY ATTENDED ONE, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INFORMED POINTEDLY OF OTHERS. IN SECURITY COUNCIL ITSELF, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEEN PRESENT AT EVERY MEETING AND HAVE PAPTICIPATED FULLY IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT. AITH SYCEPTION OF WOO AND INDIA-PAKISTAN, CHINESE APPEAR NOT TO MAVE BROKEN ANY NEW POLICY GROUND. THEY HAVE AVOIDED COMMITTING SELVES



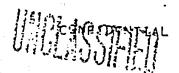




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ON WOLL-FOR DISARMAMENT ISSUES, ON QUESTION OF SYG SUCCESSION, ON UN FINANCING, STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECUTITY, LAW OF THE SEA AND OTHERS. ALTHOUGH THEY INSISTED ON ELECTION TO ECOSOD AND ASKED FOR SEAT ON ACVISORY COMMITTEE ON APMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESIONS (ACARD) (WHERE REPRESENTATIVES SIT IN MEXPERTM CAPACITY . THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT, WITH DELEGATION'S SINGLE FINANCIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERT ALREADY SEING PLACED ON ACARD, THEY DO NOT WANT TO SERVE IN COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS THIS YEAR. THEY HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE THEY HAVE DECLINED PUT FORWARD CANDIDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION AND THEY ARE HOLDING OFF ON MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. THERE ARE HOST OF UN UNITS WHERE THEY COULD BE INCLUDED IF THEY DESIRED.

5. CHINESE HAVE TIRELESSLY SOUGHT ADVICE OF PECRETARIAT (IN CONTRAST TO SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS) AND ADVICE OF OTHER DELGATIONS ISMOKING OUT CTHERS! ATTITUDES IN THE PROCESS! AND LISTENED CARFFULLY TO EVERYONE. BUT THEY HAVE FOR MOST PART RESERVED THEIR POSITIONS. FVEN IF THEY SO TERIRE, HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH SATH GA WITHOUT TAKING POSITIONS ON SOME OF REMAINING ITEMS. MIDEAST DEPATE, WHICH SCHEDINGES LAST THROUGH MOST OF VEXT FEX, WILL BE DIRRICULT TO STAY ALOOF FROM IN VIEW OF DEEP SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND OF IMPORTANCE TO ARABS. POSITION ON BROADER WITCH EAST GUESTIONS WILL BE MUCH MORE TRICKY THAN PROBLEM PRESEMITO BY UNRWA DEGATE WHICH THEY EXTERED WITHOUT COST. CHIMESE WILL HAVE TO TAKE POSITION STON ON SUCCESSOR TO SYG OR FIND THEMSELVES, WITH OTHER REPVANGUT MEMBERS, TARGET OF SMALL+COUNTRY CRITICISMS FOR DELAY. TEST BAN RESOLUTIONS WILL POSE RERIGES PADALEKS FOR PAC. CHINESE WILL BE CONFRONTED, PARTICULARLY AS MEMBERS OF THE ACABO, WITH NEED TO SHOW THEIR HAND ON CIRITICAL ON FINANCING OUESTIONS, IF THE EAST PARTSTAN QUESTION COMES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ACTIONS THE PRO WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ARPIVE AT A SATISFACTORY POSITION THAN IT WAS SIMPLY TO BEAST INDIAN POSITION AS THEY GID THIRD COMMITTEE (SHAH) OF PARISTAN SEFME TO BE ON PARTICULARLY CHOSE ISSMS WITH PRO DELECATIONS. CARROS ISSUE, ON WHICH SYG RECOMMENDS GREATER SECURITY COUNCIL INVOLVEMENT, WILL





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ADD TO COMPLICATIONS OF UN PARTICIPATION.

6. AS THIRD MEEK'S ACTIVITY ENDS AND WITH EQUAL PERIOD REMAINING UNTIL CLOSE OF 26TH GA, CHINESE, HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR MEOPHYTE STATUS, HAVE MANAGED TO KEEP MOST BUT NOT ALL OPTIONS OPEN ALTHOUGH MOST DEBATE INDICATED THAT SIND-SOVIET ANTAGONISM WOULD BE IMPORTANT FACTOR, HOWEVER, PROCESS OF UN GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS REGIN, AND WILL INTENSIFY OURING REMAINDER OF SESSION. CHINESE ARE GOING TO BE FEELING THE SQUEEZE PRODUCED BY PRACTICAL PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES. THEY UNDOUBTEDLY, LIKE CURSELVES, WILL BE RELIEVED WHEN THE FINAL GAVEL GOES DOWN. GP-3.

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